291 skirted, one-piece, and in rural areas of coarse, heavy cotton cloth made by the weaver (shammani); while the "ejtebab" of men is of imported cotton sheeting (abujedid) of fine quality. Jodphurs (surri) are of heavier, but also imported cotton. The Coptic priests in rural areas also wear a type of "qämïs" resembling that of women, but without embroidery, and much more wide-sleeved, thus called "ejsäri".

291 177 In very recent times city women of the younger generation in Addis Ababa have compromised with modernity by wearing a "qämïs" of light, imported, white rayon, thus bringing the development full circle. It is, however, still ankle-length, and the upper part of the body still covered in addition by a light version of the traditional shamma. Even modern-educated husbands who, as clerks or teachers wear European suits themselves, insist on their wives wearing some type of "qämïs" plus shamma. Male wearing of the wide-cuffed European trousers ("bolalë") has taken hold only in Addis Ababa and among modern-educated clerks and teachers. The nobility takes pride in resisting and in wearing jodphurs; and rural teachers still imitate them rather than modernity (much as they teach that the world is round without believing it themselves.).

291 The jodphurs, wide at the waist, are held by a cloth belt, "tebtib". This narrow belt of heavy cotton is used also for other trousers, and for the belt around the "qämïs" of women. Pregnant women wear a long cotton girdle, 6 inches wide, beneath the qämïs, ("mäqännät"), for support, and use it also at night or during the rainy season, for warmth.

[843]

593
539 like to order me about?).

"He who talks before his father does,
his mouth will become like that of a leper".

Older brothers may discipline younger siblings, but there is less emphasis on the privileges of the first-born than in Arab countries. The Amhara is aware that younger brothers may often become more honored, richer and wiser later in life:

539 "Formerly, he (the older) pulled his (the younger's) ear, later on, the horn of the other (the younger) became bigger".

586 In case of divorce, which is frequent, children not staying with one of the parents are quickly taken by kinfolk. Thus, children are often raised by their grandparents, paternal or maternal, who often are young enough to have small children of their own. It is not even rare to see children of a divorcee by her first marriage may be raised by the family of her second husband even after she has divorced and left him also. This is more likely to happen in a town, where the consanguinal kin ties are weakened due to absence of the factor of kin residence, than in the residential kin hamlet. (Foreign observers have paraphrased an old English saying and adapted it to this situation in Abyssinia:

B. Pregnancy, Birth, Circumcision.

842 According to popular observation, 25% of all women, especially
● 843 in the towns, are barren, and another 25% have frequent miscarriages. There are many precautions taken against these mishaps. A pregnant woman may wear extra cowrie shells, "zagol"; in addition to amulets written against the evil spirit "tela" (lit. shadow, an envious female spirit) which brings miscarriages, kills babies at

842 birth, or later by causing its joints to swell.

843 It is considered impossible for a woman to conceive while still breastfeeding a baby. This belief is so strong that no precautions are taken, coitus proceeds as usual after the first few months, and when a pregnancy does occur it is regarded as a freak of nature and misfortune.

841 These physical matters are more discussed by women than by men. Menstruation is differentiated in several ways: "tärakkäsä" - she has become impure; "räggämä" - the (monthly) curse is on her; "edef" - the discharge of menstruation; "bädäm nat" (lit. she is in blood). Husbands are expected to shun "the dirt" and avoid sex relations during that time.

843 As a pregnancy advances, women wrap a long cotton girdle around the belly and waist, "näganät", for support, and continue this some time after childbirth.

843 574 844 About two months before a woman is about to give birth, ("ergus" - woman in advanced pregnancy), she often leaves her husband and goes to the hamlet of her parents'. There she knows she will be taken care of, fed, constantly attended, treated by the local experienced woman who acts as midwife, and not be expected to follow any of her housewifely duties such as fetching water, cooking, brewing beer, gathering fuel, etc. After birth she will usually remain at her parents' for some months, until her childbed, "aras" period (usually 80 days) is over. During [304] this time, circumcision and cliterectomy are performed. For even good husbands are regarded as so habituated to the wifely services that they become impatient with the wife at this time.

1: Messing E-5 (1953-1954)1957 MP5 Amhara MP5

X-794 T16 [83] 753

Possession of a man by a female zar occurs less often but is much more difficult to treat. Magical coitus in this case may render him impotent with human females. In some cases it manifests itself in nocturnal emissions of semen (wet dreams). It is believed that if a zar doctor (or a male patient) is possessed by a female zar at a young enough age, prior to puberty (which is very rare), he will develop female secondary sex characteristics, such as incipient breasts; some even say menstruation. Only zar doctors feel they have sufficient control over the situation to invite female zars to possess them, for the value of a few protective female zars as revealers of occult secrets is great.

Female zars are regarded as "uneducated" and "undisciplined"; none of them are believed to have "studied in Jerusalem" where many wise male zars are believed to have gone to school. Many female zars therefore never can become protective spirits. At most they can be flattered by special chants, and bribed to remain inactive, i.e. seated on the back of the "horse". More female than male zars are downright evil.

[753]

This is especially true when a female zar possesses a human female. This is most often due to jealousy, and is so diagnosed if a woman suffers a series of miscarriages. For, while male zars are regarded as "striking the shoulder", female zars immediately" strike at the genitals".

[943]

One of the basic relationships with a zar spirit of the opposite sex, the "magical coitus", is solemnized by the zar doctor in a "marriage communion". The possessed is then referred to as "mushärra" (newlywed), and is attended by two "mize" (best men, like in a human wedding) from among the circle of the society of the possessed, who ever thereafter are in attendance every time another possession occurs,

4: Alvarez M-5 (1520-1526) 1881
MP5 Amhara MP5

585 stead, and seated upon it the bridegroom and the bride, and there came thither three priests, and they began a chaunt with Hallelujah, and then continued the chaunt, the three priests walking three times round the bedstead on which the couple were seated. Then they cut a lock of hair from the head of the bridegroom, and another from the head of the bride. They wetted these locks with mead, and placed the hair of the bridegroom on the head of the bride, and that of the bride on the head of the bridegroom, on the place from which they had cut them, and then sprinkled them with holy water: after that they kept their festivities and wedding feasts. At night they put them in a house, and for a month from that time no one saw the bride, except one man only whom they call the best man,[1] who remains all this month with the married couple, and when this month is ended the man or best friend goes away. If she is an honourable woman she does not go out of the house for [784] five or six months, nor remove a black veil from her face: [843] and if before that she becomes pregnant she removes the veil. When these months are ended, even though she is not pregnant, she removes the veil.

CAP. XXI.—*Of their marriages and benedictions, and of their contracts, and how they separate from their wives, and the wives from them, and it is not thought strange.*

I saw the Abima Marcos, whom they call Pope, giving blessings in the church, that is to say, before the principal door; the bride and bridegroom were also seated on a bedstead, and the Abima walked round them with incense and cross, and laid his hands on their heads, telling them to observe that which God had commanded in the gospel; and that they were no longer two

[1] *Padrinho.*

*753 measles, and smallpox), whooping cough, and occasionally
[843] mumps. Pre-natal contagion, in which a homonculus receives a paternal basiyta or a fetus contracts a maternal basiyta via the blood nutriment, is responsible for childhood syphilis and ayni tila. Rabies is the only example of animal-human contagion, the basiyta being carried by the dog's saliva. Neither likift nor the causation of jaundice through contact with bat urine are examples of telalafiy, since in neither case is the disease agent itself a victim of the ailment.

*753 The body's normal functioning is also disrupted by
825 deviations from acceptable limits of diet, physical acti-
827 vity, and emotion. Digestive wosfat, for example, are
*(192) angered by insufficient food, or food which is stale (injera bread), spoiled (soured talla beer), or improperly prepared (wot stew lacking the customary cayenne). In return, the wosfat rise up to bite the stomach itself, causing pain, bloat, and diarrhea; if these conditions persist, the wosfat will chew their way to the heart, pro-
*753 ducing great local pain, fever, and lassitude. Exces-
827 sive physical exertion is associated with local com-
[828] plaints: Extended walking may dislocate a jimat from its assigned channel (sprain); prolonged weeping can cloud the eye (trachoma and cataracts); extended and arduous thinking produces confusion; much hard labor results in arthritic and rheumatoid complaints. Intense emotions

*759
752
768

needs.[1]

*759 The wogeysa's remaining therapies---excision of
*753 tonsils (ankar) and teeth---are characterized by simpler
752 diagnosis and treatment than are the tagañ's works.
• [843] Swollen and inflamed tonsils (komahaw) may be caused by
* [192] gerifta; in infants, however, the condition may be congenital, brought on by the over-exertions of the child's mother during pregnancy. It is considered a potentially mortal affliction, since the sickman is unable to swallow and loses weight rapidly; eventually the organ bursts and death follows. Tonsils are excised with the assistance of a reed through which a loop of horse
[413] hair has been slipped. With this, the offending organ
[197] is held fast, and excised by whatever type of blade the therapist regards as most efficacious (e.g., a razor, imported 'Arab' knife, or fragment of glass).[2] Kusil

[1] During 1966, the foremost tagañ of Begemder had the following sickmen living simultaneously in three huts which he had erected on his fields; 1) a woman from Woggera (see map 1), with a fractured clavicle, assisted by her daughter; 2) a four year old boy, with a shoulder injury, accompanied by both parents; 3) a woman with a broken fore-arm, from Belsea, assisted by a locally acquired servant; 4) a woman from Tigre, with an immobile right arm, assisted by a locally acquired servant.

[2] In the Gondar area, both tonsils and uvula are classified as 'ankar'. Elsewhere in Begemder, they are often distinguished as 'ankar' and 'intil'. Therapeutically, diseased tonsils and uvula are treated the same, and a wogeysa capable of treating one invariably treats the other.

*757 *[192] by spontaneously shouting out the agent's name ("yi-liliyt waf").

Narratives describing supplementary household therapies are included in Appendix A.

OTHER LAY THERAPISTS

*759 The Midwife. The midwife (awalaj) is always a woman, since it is forbidden for a man to look on, let alone *759 handle, a woman's genitals. Towards the end of the *843 eighth month of pregnancy, counted from the cessation of menses, the parturient woman consults a midwife. The awalaj examines the abdomen from the perspective of size and shape, and listens to the abdomenal wall for sounds of life and other signs of fetal movement.[8] During the latter half of the ninth month, the midwife reckons the position of the fetus, and if this is found inappropriate she reaches into the vagina and attempts to manipulate the fetus into a desireable attitude. The session concludes with directions that the expectant mother must 844 henceforth sleep only on her back. Once labor pains begin, the midwife is called. With the assistance of the

[8] Failure to perceive signs of fetal life suggests the possibility of a zar-caused ailment.

woman's kinswomen who hold her down, the midwife repeatedly massages the woman's abdomen until the baby has emerged. The umbilical cord is knotted close to the baby and again near the mother, and then severed in the middle. The midwife then squeezes the woman's abdomen to eject the afterbirth, inserts her hand up the vagina to extract any remaining portion, and then passes the organ to an assistant who takes it outside for burial. The midwife then turns to the infant, washes it and carefully "shapes" its eyes, nose, and head into desireable conformations. Finally, the mother's body is washed.

The midwife's therapy is conspicuously lacking in the secret and magical elements characteristic of herbalist therapies. It is, in addition, the only Amhara medical specialty which can be acquired without formal tuteledge, by observing and assisting established midwives in delivering infants.

Pregnancy and childbirth are considered dangerous experiences. Gerifta is a special threat: Nakedness under the sun may cause the fetus to turn in the womb and threaten breach birth, and urinating in the sun can induce premature labor. Childbirth is sometimes the setting for divine punishment by means of breach birth. The pregnant woman is also a favorite victim of ganela, typically, she experiences great hemorrhaging, severe

pain, loss of her senses, inability to move her limbs in an often fatal ailment known as sarakian. The midwife is powerless in these contingencies; instead, it is the herbalist or debtera who must be consulted. Thus, the sinj medhaniyt awakiy provides an infusion which the post-partuitive mother drinks to eject a recalcitrant afterbirth (sinj), and the yidemaketir kitabiy provides an herbal amulet to be tied around the waist of the female suffering from post-partum hemorrhaging (demaketir).

The cupper. The cupper (agamiy) assumes either of two therapeutic strategies, depending upon the ailment he is treating. Like the herbalist, he may attempt to draw the pathogenic substance out from the sickman's body. For severe headache (ras mitat: literally, head-gerifts), he shaves a circle of one inch diameter on the sickman's occiput, makes a single incision with a razor or other favored knife, places his cup of horn over the incision, sucks out a required number of hornfulls (usually three) of blood, and pours the blood into a waiting basin of water. The extruded blood is then examined for clotting (tikur waha: dark water) which is regarded as evidence that the pathogenic substance is being removed. Later that day, the agamiy returns to repeat his therapy. The occiput is chosen for bleeding because of its proximity to the body's blood reservoir (yidem sir), located at the nape.